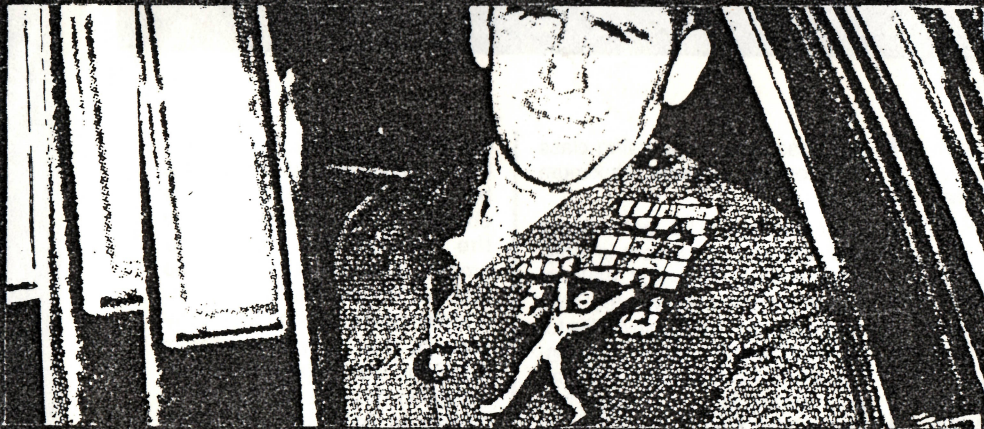


FASCISM IN AMERICA

a statement by the N.Y. 8 +

In November 1984 500 federal agents surrounded the homes and meeting places of 8 Black community activists and arrested them. The defendants, who came to be known as the New York 8 conducted their defense with the help of attorneys and great community support. They were acquitted in a few hours and cheered by the jury. Not satisfied with this victory, the 8 and their supporters went on to organize demonstrations against police murder, and racist killings of Blacks in the New York area. This work culminated in the "Days of Outrage," massive acts of economic disruption, including shutting down the N.Y. subway system. What follows is the text of a speech given by the N.Y. 8 plus in 1985.

AGAINST LIBERTY



MARTIAL LAW PLANS DEVELOPED BY OLIVER NORTH AND OTHERS INCLUDE ARRESTING 400,000 CENTRAL AMERICANS NOW LIVING IN THE U.S., AND 28,000 AMERICAN "ACTIVISTS" IN EVENT OF A U.S. INVASION OF NICARAGUA OR EL SALVADOR.

When someone raises the term fascism, what comes to your mind? Nazi Germany? Hitler? Mussolini? Gas chambers? TERROR?

Some people look at the history of Blacks within the United States, the terror and degradation of slavery, the lynchings and burnings which accompanied the night ridings of the Ku Klux Klan, the Jim Crow laws, the bloody struggles of the Civil Rights era, the FBI COINTELPRO (computer intelligence program) operation targeted at destroying the Black Liberation movement and its leadership, the decimation of the Black Panther party, the assassinations of Malcolm X, Fred Hampton, Mark Clark, Martin Luther King, George Jackson to name only a few, the Greensboro, S.C. murders of 5 members of the Communist Workers Party, the random urban police terror - almost off-handedly reigning in our communities - and sum up that Black people have always been subject to fascism.

The point I'm trying to make here is not particular to Blacks -- the list above could be expanded to cover every national minority as well as the U.S. multi-racial, multi-national working class. But the question is:

Does Repression equal fascism? No! The question is "so what"? If we don't understand that fascism is more than historical repression under a new name, then we will not develop the appropriate tactics to defeat it. If we approach it as simply repression continued - we will lose. And loss means DEATH!

Let us define fascism. The simplest definition is: the rule by outright terror of the most reactionary sector by the monopoly finance capitalist ruling class.

Our position is that in the United States, fascism has not consolidated itself (or an open meeting like this would be impossible), but is in the process of doing so. We cannot look at the issue of fas-

cism outside its historical context, which is tied to the development of capitalism in its dying stages. Therefore, repression and terror in and of themselves do not make for fascism.

Let's take a brief, historical look at the development of fascism in Nazi Germany and see if any useful lessons or parallels can be drawn to the U.S. in 1985.

Germany: After its defeat in World War I Germany faced high unemployment and a stagnant economy. There was extreme poverty within the working-class, and overcrowding within the professions, thus affecting the middle-class's ability to conduct a life-style which it felt it deserved. Germany was a highly-industrialized capitalist country without a place to make a profit. Its markets had been taken away from them by the victors of World War I, and 1/6th of the world -- the newly established U.S.S.R. -- was no longer available to exploit. In a situation where their domestic population could not afford to buy what was produced, and there being no other markets available to ship those commodities to, the German bourgeoisie did what capitalists must do and kept the economy from producing to its maximum because it would be unprofitable. (i.e. withheld capital investment from the economy, reduced wages, closed factories, etc.).

In the political sphere: Germany had a strong, revolutionary working-class movement. For a period of time in 1918 the working-class had seized state power, only to lose it through the treachery of reformist leadership who handed control back over to the capitalists.

It was in this context that fascism came into power. This did not happen overnight. It took 15 years before Hitler became head of state.

What was fascism's appeal? How did it become a mass movement?

Fascism's social basis was the disillusioned middle-classes, members of the lumpen-working class (e.g. hustlers, muggers, junkies) and backward elements of the working class (e.g. people who support the editorial policies of the New York Post).

Fascism had no theory. It grew up as an "anti-" movement, in opposition to the working class revolution, and was mainly characterized by the use of "violent and extra-legal methods against the working class movement."

Fascism often posed itself as the third way -- in opposition to both capitalism and Communism - but in reality fascism's appeal lay in its use of DEMOGOGY --

The art of playing on the hopes and the fears, the emotions and the ignorance of the poor and the suffering for the benefit of the rich and the powerful.. (Palme-Dutte, Fascism and Social Revolution, p.208)

Fascism made a system of the use of demagoguery which allowed it to appeal to every backward feeling, instinct and ignorance in the population; allowed it to put forward any program which would attract support, without any regard for consistency; permitted it to suddenly do an "about face" and repudiate its own programs.

One commentator likened fascism to a chameleon able to assume the form of any environment in which it found itself, but with no distinct principles of its own.

Hitler came to power under the protection of liberal governments which were in the process of restricting bourgeois democratic rights. The right-wing extra-legal forces that he represented (like the KKK, the Order, the Aryan Nation) had no trouble getting arms, and conducted their terrorising of the working class under the protection, and with the sanction of the police.



PARKS AND PUBLIC SPACES HAVE BEEN TARGETED WITH ANTI-POOR AND ANTI-YOUTH LAWS, EXAMPLES; CRIMEWATCH AREAS, NO LOITERING LAWS, NO PEDDLING LAWS.



ACROSS THE COUNTRY POLICE AND RACISTS HAVE BEEN GIVEN FREE REIGN TO TERRORIZE BLACK COMMUNITIES.



RECENTLY THERE HAVE BEEN ATTEMPTS AT CENSORING ROCK MUSIC AND MAGAZINES.



THERE HAS BEEN A CAMPAIGN OF BREAK-INS AND RAIDS AGAINST GROUPS OPPOSING U.S. INTERVENTION IN CENTRAL AMERICA.

Please understand that Hitler's accession of power in 1933 was not the fruit of a fascist REVOLUTION. There was no overthrowing of a class. There was a TRANSITION. The Administration that preceded Hitler HANDED the power over to him.

Once in power, Hitler moved to the implementation of open fascism -- all restraints were dropped and the police state stood there unadorned with any illusions of democracy.

Who Financed Hitler?

The middle-class was the social basis of the fascist mass movement but the money behind it belonged to the monopoly-finance

capitalists -- the ruling class of Germany. (Note Henry Ford, owner of Ford Motors donated to Hitler's war chest). For them fascism was a tactic -- a way for them to maintain capitalism which was in a death crisis. The illusions of bourgeois democracy (freedom of speech, right to vote, etc.) were no longer sufficient to keep the masses in check and preserve capitalism, so the outright force and violence which were always the foundation of their rule had to be established.

The German ruling class, while certainly anti-Semitic, did not subscribe to the Aryan superiority - Jewish conspiracy nonsense of the Nazis. Once again this tactic

served a useful purpose. It divided the masses and diverted the target of their rage from the real enemy -- monopoly-finance capitalism -- to the imagined one -- ALL JEWS.

Once fascism had been established, and the hard-core extremists had served their purpose, the financiers had many of Hitler's more rabidly right-wing followers executed, along with those who had been attracted by and believed in the anti-capitalist rhetoric of fascism.

Fascism and War

Imperialism, capitalism in its dying stages of monopoly, means war. War remains the ultimate resolution to the problem of how

one capitalist country gains control of a market held by another. Fascism just represents the sharpest expression of this law of imperialism.

The economic solutions proposed by Hitler to the crisis of the German economy were closely tied to the development and acceleration of a war economy. This non-productive use of resources can always and everywhere only provide immense profits to arms and munitions manufacturers and a quick fix to a sick economy. Let us leave Germany now.

1985 U.S.A.

Key to understanding this section is that the U.S. is the leading imperialist country in the world. Its

logic has but and its ruling class lives for one purpose: Maximum Profit

According to U.S. government statistics, unemployment is 'only' 7.8% overall. Amongst national minorities the percentages are nearly double. The quality of life for most citizens is steadily worsening, and the gap between rich and poor is widening. Contrast the fact that in New York City, the finance capital of the world, 600,000 out of 1.6 million children (40%) live below the poverty level, while executives for 12 major corporations received annual compensation ranging from \$1 to \$4 million. There are cutbacks in services -- food stamps, welfare, Medicare. These cutbacks are often dis-

guised, e.g., Medicare has a new billing procedure which pays a hospital a flat fee for all illness. The cheaper the hospital can provide the "service" the greater the amount of the flat rate it can keep for itself. The practical result of this is lower quality service for elderly patients, their early removal from hospitals, the consequent underutilization of beds, leading to the closing of hospitals, and further unemployment.

- The economy is losing jobs, sometimes due to increased mechanization, other times tied to runaway shops. The New York Times headline of September 2, 1985 -- Labor Day -- reads "1877 jobs go from Shreveport, Louisiana to Singapore." Paren-



WHILE THE WHITE HOUSE DECLARES A "WAR ON DRUGS," THE CIA IMPORTS COCAINE TO FUND THE CONTRAS. THE "WAR ON DRUGS" ISN'T MEANT TO STOP DRUGS BUT TO STOP YOU ON THE STREET,

thetically, the chairman of A.T. & T., whose company was responsible for the shift to Singapore, made \$1,126,359 last year for a job well done.

- The nature of the U.S. economy is changing from industrial to service, as steel plants and mines are closed because it is more profitable to obtain their products from foreign sources. As of June 1985, 7 out of 10 workers were in the service-producing area, while 2 out of 10 were in factories (NYT, 8/28/85 and 5/21/85). The greatest displacement was of course among women and minorities.

- Ownership and control of the economy -- finance, industry, real estate, agriculture -- is falling into an ever smaller number of hands. Every bank failure, or corporate merger tightens the monopoly of the economy.

- The U.S. ruling class is losing markets for its commodities -- both domestically and internationally. This can be seen most dramatically and clearly in the amount of Japanese goods in the U.S. market, and around the world.

- The balance of trade deficit is large and growing -- another reflection of the loss of markets.

- The debt of the U.S. economy has doubled within the past 4 years.

- And the U.S. and international banking system face a tremendous and insoluble crisis due to the South American loan situation.

In other words, despite the Government's reports of a robust economy, if we look at the real, total picture, we find a very precarious economic situation. We find a situation where, in order to preserve maximum profit, cuts must be made in the social welfare, quality of life gains won with blood over the years.

How does the ruling class intend to maintain itself in power? Let us examine the politics of the U.S. 1985:

There is no strong, mass work-

ing class revolutionary movement at this time. Does that mean that the bourgeoisie is not preparing for fascism? They also have studied the lessons of history and know the inevitability of the rise of such a revolutionary movement based in the working class. That is why the destruction of PATCO was so important to Reagan. Even though the strike occurred around economic issues, the busting of the union had greater political significance. It sent a message through organized and unorganized labor of the "futility" of opposing the Government. It highlighted the disorganization and lack of fraternal support amongst the "brotherhood" of labor. It put labor on the defensive, setting the basis for give-backs and other concessions permitting the bourgeoisie to maintain maximum profit.

At the same time the bourgeoisie has a deathly fear of the Black Liberation Movement -- a movement whose core and social base is solidly working class -- and the catalytic effect it has had on social protest throughout this country's history. To understand why the NY 8+ -- Black (and Puerto Rican), revolutionary, Marxist-Leninists, with a clear analysis of the enemy and how to get to him, and a principled and committed practice -- were moved on by 500 agents of the Joint Task Force of Terrorists (as Judge Bruce Wright called them), you must understand the ruling class' fear of the Black Liberation Movement. The attack on the NY 8+ was their desperate attempt to nip the inevitable revolutionary upsurge in the bud. That I am standing here today is testimony to their failure and your victory. But we must not assume a false optimism. One victory does not win a war. According to Palme-Dutte:

The development of a specific fascist movement is a complicated process, involving a considerable "trial and error" of rival movements, before the successful technique is found. Only fools will laugh at the

awkwardness of these embryonic stages and not realize the character of the serpent that is being incubated.

As our resistance grows, so will accelerate fascism's motion towards consolidation. But let's look at what has already occurred.

- Attorney General Meese has launched an attack on the Constitution's Bill of Rights under the guise of a return to a true interpretation of the Constitution. Meese's logic would permit the establishment of a state religion (co-signed by the Moral Majority), censure the press for criticizing public officials, compel defendants to testify against themselves. One effect of the Meese doctrine would be to limit minorities' ability to obtain redress.

- Meese would abolish Miranda warnings. In his view, "most innocent people are glad to talk to the police," NYT 10/17/85.

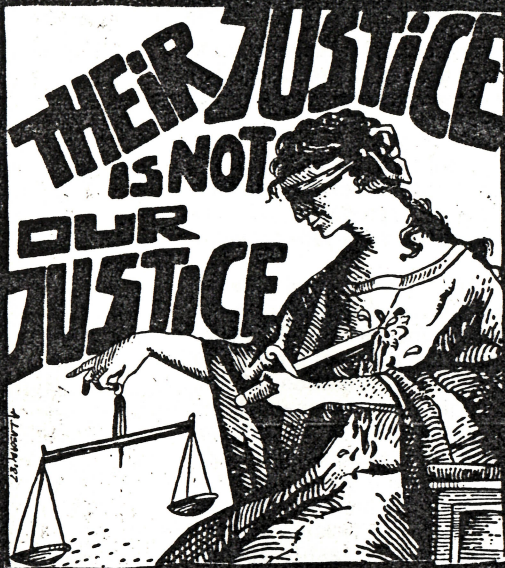
Professor Dick Howard of the University of Virginia Law School commented concerning the Meese attacks, that "they seem to be taking a longer view. Their point is to win the long range war."

- Reagan will appoint nearly 50% of the sitting Federal District Court judges - i.e., those who have satisfied him of their right-wing political inclinations. Once appointed, they are on for life. Most of these appointees are in their early 40's.

- The near passive mass acceptance of the Omnibus Crime Control Act of 1984 with its provisions for no bail, no parole, and the almost complete elimination of judge's discretion around sentencing.

- The ideological attack led by Reagan cheerleader and Director of White House Communications, Patrick Buchanan.

- The attempt to staff the Department of Education with people committed to abolishing it.



THE NEW SUPREME COURT IS STACKED WITH RIGHT WING JUDGES WHO MAY INTERPRET THE CONSTITUTION IN WAYS HOSTILE TO WOMENS RIGHTS, AFFIRMATIVE ACTION AND CIVIL LIBERTIES.



NOW IN NEW YORK CITY NEW REGULATIONS ARE BEING DRAFTED TO MAKE I.D. CARDS MANDATORY FOR ALL BICYCLISTS AND MESSENGERS. THESE REGULATIONS WOULD ALLOW POLICE TO STOP AND SEARCH ANYONE CARRYING A MESSENGER BAG.



LAST SPRING THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT ANNOUNCED AMNESTY FOR ILLEGAL IMMIGRANTS AS AN INCENTIVE FOR THEM TO TURN THEMSELVES IN. MEANWHILE THERE IS A CRACKDOWN ON UNDOCUMENTED WORKERS AND NEW JAILS BEING BUILT TO HOLD THEM.



THE SUPREME COURT HAS APPROVED NO BAIL LAWS, SO-CALLED **PREVENTIVE DETENTION** GIVING THE GOVERNMENT THE RIGHT TO HOLD YOU WITHOUT TRIAL OR BAIL ON SUSPICION THAT YOU ARE 'LIKELY' TO DO SOMETHING.

- The move to eliminate bilingual education.

- The dismantling of Affirmative Action programs because they allegedly represent racism in reverse.

- Reversal of Government-sanctioned desegregation policies.

- Attempt to chill dissent by conservative groupings like Accuracy in Academia who plan to recruit student volunteers to identify and audit classes of the 10,000 "Marxist" college professors who are instilling "leftist bias" in young minds.

- The Justice Department's initiation of Voter Fraud Trials in the Alabama Black Belt against the very people whose lives were dedi-

cated to Black people getting the right to vote. The goal is to disenfranchise the Black vote.

- The elimination of the Small Business Administration.

- Reagan's pontifical attacks on Communism - "the forces of good against those of evil" and his support of groupings such as the World Anti-Communist League (an international collection of fascists, anti-Semites, and other assorted reactionaries).

- The rise of activist conservatives, such as the Young Conservative Foundation, who employ radical tactics like marches and sit-ins to demand that universities divest stocks in companies doing business in the USSR ("South

African human rights violations pale in comparison to those of the Soviet Union" according to one of their spokesmen, NYT, 10/17/85).

- The organizing of the social base for fascism -- small farmers and the urban middle-class -- the right. Groups like Posse Comitatus, the Aryan Nation and the Klan are trying to channel their discontent into support of reaction -- "the problem is Niggers, Jews, Spics, Big government and Big Business." The typical fascist demagogic appeal.

The Preparation of Varied and Greater Instruments of Repression:

- The CIA can now operate legally within the U.S., and has

wide discretion to withhold information concerning their sources from the public.

- The FBI is being increasingly used abroad.

- The use of the Grand Jury as an instrument for political intelligence and incarceration of political activists.

- The rewards of the Witness Protection program as an inducement to become a Government agent.

- A 300% increase in "legally" obtained electronic surveillance under Reagan.

- The trial of revolutionaries under Racketeering statutes, and if that fails, under Seditious Conspiracy laws.

- Increasing the domestic use of the Pre-emptive strike policy -- NY 8+, Hartford 13 comrades.

- Bombing of a black neighborhood, MOVE in Philly, during which nearly 9000 rounds of ammo were fired by the police.

- Greater publicity and protection given to fanatical right-wing groups (compare the press coverage given to the trial of members of the Order with that of the NY 8+, Puerto Rican comrades in Chicago and Hartford, the Ohio 7, Tim Blunk and Susan Rosenberg, Linda Evans).

A recent 1985 Village Voice article quoted a law enforcement official about the extensive membership of his co-workers in

the Posse Comitatus. This comes as no surprise to many of us. We were involved in a demonstration in Tupelo, Mississippi in 1979 and the KKK held a counter-demonstration. When they were finished, they walked into the Sheriff's office and removed their robes, under which they were wearing their police uniforms.

- The wrist-slaps given to the Klan and Nazi, FBI/ATF sanctioned murders of the Greensboro 5.

Scapegoats

Again, no surprise. The targeted groups will be Blacks and Latinos. Racism was necessary to the development of the economic base of this country. And it

remains important today under the conditions of crisis. Blacks are superfluous to the labor force, even as a reserve, and represent a source of social discontent. Within New York State Hispanics are even worse off than Blacks -- poorer, less educated, more prone to serious health problems. (NYT 8/16/84).

As one cop said, "The conditions of the South Bronx breed criminals or revolutionaries."

Thus, we must be made expendable by being portrayed as sub-human. The increase in similarly random police murders - Bumpurs, Perrys, Stewarts, MOVES - helps create a climate of the worthlessness of Black lives.

The Motion Towards War

As we stated earlier, imperialism means war. Preparations for war provide a sick economy with the same false glow of health that a good undertaker gives a cadaver. And Reagan is getting ready for war. We all see the material preparation -- the invasion

of Granada, increases in the Defense Budget, the Star Wars Program, support for the Contras in Nicaragua, deployment of nuclear missiles in Europe and continued testing of nuclear arms, Selective Service registration and the hit-squad DELTA force. But those are accompanied by an ideological campaign whose aim is to prepare the U.S. psychologically for the necessity and inevitability of war. The need for war underlies Reagan's moral crusade against godless Communism and in his call to fight Terrorism. In justifying the Disinformation campaign against Libya, Secretary of State Shultz said that such a tactic is warranted in war, and that the U.S. position with Libya is tantamount to a state of war. This ideological preparation also occurs in the "cultural" sphere - e.g., movies like Rambo II, Top Gun, Commando and the countless cop shows on T.V.

U.S. citizens are being prepared for civil war at home - fascism - and mercenary wars abroad.

Build the Popular Front

The purpose of this presentation was not to frighten anyone but for us to have a clear picture of the enemy we face. Understand that the rise of fascism is not inevitable. It can and will be stopped if we resolve to fight it wherever it arises. We cannot surrender any of the gains made over the past years paid for with our people's blood.

We, the NY 8+, see the ultimate resolution to fascism as national liberation of the oppressed nations, and socialist revolution within the larger United States. But the immediate steps that must be dealt with are the Building of a Popular Front Against Fascism -- an agitational tactic, not an organization, to popularize and awaken the U.S. masses to the reality that not only can fascism happen here, but it is in the process of consolidation. But regardless of our differences, and disagreements, whether we call what is happening here fascism, or something else, we must toe a bottom line of resistance and struggle and resolve that we will give: NOT A SINGLE INCH!

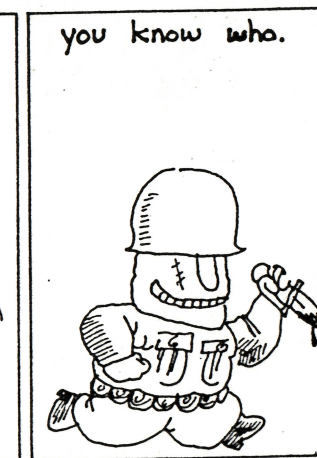
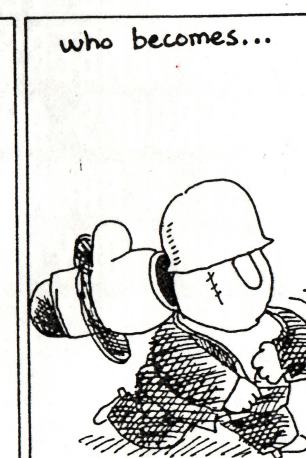
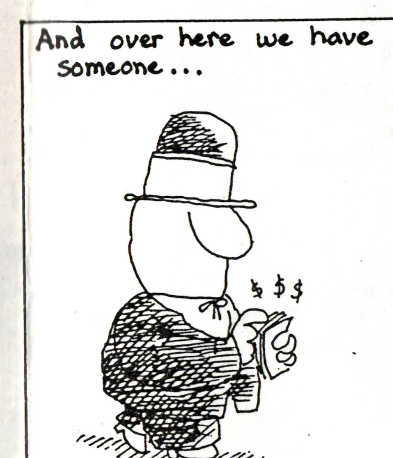
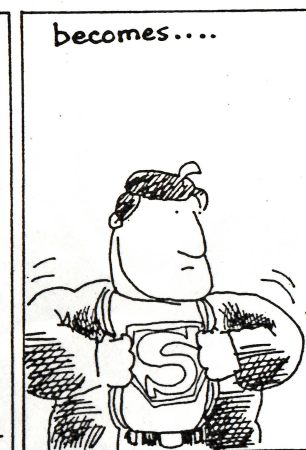
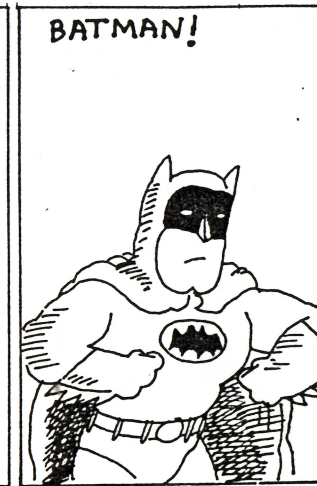
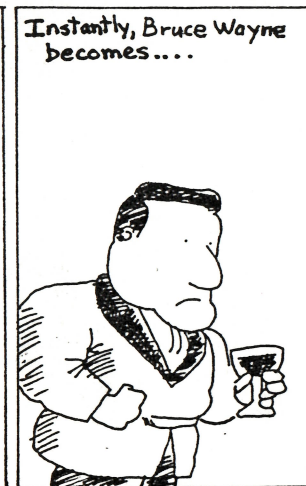
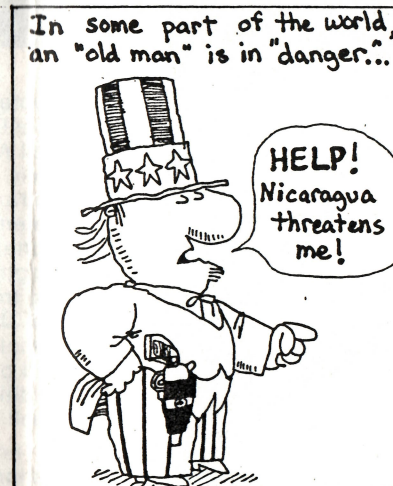
And in 1988

In reviewing this piece for a 1988 reprint, we decided to include a short addendum, rather than revise the body of the presentation with updated facts. We think that the events of the past 2½ years confirm the correctness of our analysis.

Let's take a brief look at some of the most recent phenomena of crisis. The October 1987 Wall Street crash highlights the fragile nature of the economy while accelerating the continued consolidation of ownership and control in the hands of a few. The 'Contragate' activities exposed one path being follow-

ed for the establishment of the police state. Despite the bourgeoisie's attempt to portray 'Contragate' as an aberration, many more people are clear that "it (fascism) could happen here."

In the race for the 1988 presidential nomination the entire political spectrum has moved to the right. The US





PLANS TO QUARANTINE PEOPLE TESTING POSITIVE FOR AIDS AND MEMBERS OF SO-CALLED HIGH RISK GROUPS ARE DISCUSSED OPENLY AGAINST A BACKGROUND OF MEDIA HYSTERIA, MANDATORY TESTING HAS BEGUN IN JAILS, IN THE MILITARY, AND FOR IMMIGRANTS.

Supreme Court affirmed the constitutionality of the No-Bail Act, and 30 months after their arrest, 2 Puerto Rican patriots remain in preventive detention. 7 white revolutionaries, already serving lengthy prison terms, are being tried in Massachusetts by the US government in an attempt to set a precedent for and popularize the use of the Seditious Conspiracy Act to quell dissent.

There has been an increase nationally, in communities and on campuses, in the number of racist attacks, both random and planned, official and unofficial. Africans.

Latinos, Asians, and Native Americans have been the victims of white civilian mobs, as well as the targets for racist law enforcement agents.

Surveillance of domestic dissent by the national political police (the FBI) in alliance with local police departments has stepped up. 1987 brought revelations of the NYC Police Department's Intelligence Division's illegal monitoring of the Black community's political leadership.

In early 1988, US government documents revealed that the FBI had surveilled and kept

files on people opposed to Reagan's Central America policies.

The increase in political activity, particularly in New York City following the murder of Michael Griffith in Howard Beach, Queens. A year long series of militant meetings, programs, demonstrations and protests peaked in Days of Outrage which confounded thousands of police and shut down the political, financial heart of the city. The war-mongering and provocation continues, from the Persian Gulf 'protection' to the possibility of an invasion of Nicaragua.



LAST SUMMER IN L.A. POLICE ROUNDED UP MORE THAN A THOUSAND HOMELESS PEOPLE AND INTERNED THEM IN A FENCED IN PARKING LOT OUTSIDE THE CITY. LAST OCTOBER MAYOR KOCH ORDERED THE FORCED INSTITUTIONALISATION OF HOMELESS PEOPLE DEEMED MENTALLY ILL BY POLICE.